

A Social and Spatial Restructuring in Inner-City Residential Areas: The Case of Istanbul

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Abstract

In Turkey over the last twenty years, the disruptive quality of such restructuring processes has been exacerbated by the government's decision to embrace urban transformation as a tool to speed the country's integration into the global economy. This article examines the process of "social and spatial restructuring" as called by the authors in inner-city housings of Istanbul, as part of a larger phenomenon. Its particular focuses are the methodologies of urban transformation and the social and spatial restructuring which reclaims the historical housing districts. The paper begins by developing a theoretical background to highlight the multidimensional structure of urban transformation and gentrification. Dealing with this framework, this paper examines different implementation processes between two different projects in the city of Istanbul. It compares two such approaches in Istanbul's Fener-Balat and Suleymaniye neighborhoods, which are both located at the historic peninsula of the city.

1. Introduction

Since the industrialization period, changes in physical, social, cultural, technological, economical and political manners are rapidly growing. This process surely effects the city development at first glance. Changing socio-political structures, political missions, and development strategies shifts the society, and in related to the society the physical environment continuously reshapes itself. This transformation exposes today's megacities, main transportation nodes, dynamic networks and a highly effective business circulation. Cities of today are not only developing through high decisions, but the new development strategy is working from both sides as bottom up and top to down. Whilst the society is bringing out needs and expectations from a spatial formation, business economy, political and socio cultural dimensions; the needs are producing the products accordingly. However the mutually



controlled system of today's cities is also bringing out new conflicts and fractions. An imbalanced system of this two-ways interaction in majority ends with a one-way result in return.

In parallel to rapid transformation of cities, for 40 years the term sustainability is also being highly effective on the physical, environmental, socio-cultural, economical and political debates. Sustainability concerns are bringing the environment and the human being, the cultural differences and the importance of diversity into a higher position in decisions. However in implementation processes, sustainability terminology is more efficient within business frame rather than urban and design issues in practice.

On whole when focused on to the urban environment, cities are facing the most transformation conflicts as a result. Spatial reflections of globalization, new development based interactions are creating fragmented spaces, societies and a dynamic mixture. Urban transformation therefore keeps developing its methodology since the late 19th century until today, and creates new theoretical concepts and practical fractions such as the terminologies "urban revitalization", "renewal", "regeneration", and the "gentrification". The urban transformation process kept modifying its characteristics according to the demands and expectations. Therefore the higher expectations and the strategies of achieving an urban transformation depend on the tools. In physical environment manners an urban transformation mainly aims a regenerated urban settlement, where the devastated area/neighborhood may serve for better standards and upgrade the social level. In parallel, this attempt may aim for an economical upgrading in the focal area.

In this context, the aim of this paper is to focus into the urban transformation practices within the historical neighborhoods of the old city Istanbul, where two focal areas are going to be represented as exemplary cases of urban transformation locations. The reason in presenting Fener-Balat and Suleymaniye neighborhoods is to expose the multidimensional structure of the urban transformation approaches on historical neighborhoods of the city of Istanbul. Both neighborhoods could be defined as devastated historical residential areas of the historical peninsula in Istanbul, where the introductory flux of urban dynamics and interconnections are all meet. The rapid transformation of the neighborhoods brought the area into a position where the implementation of a transformation project seemed necessary. By focusing into these neighborhoods the paper will be exposing the lack of communication between the actors of the processes as well as a holistic vision for the transformation in general. This lack of communication and a general framework for the urban transformation in the historical neighborhoods of Istanbul also brings out a very important problem to analyze as the main focus of the paper. It is the process of gentrification in relation to the urban transformation process, created a dynamic flow of population into and from the neighborhood. In this manner this paper will briefly be focusing into the development of the urban transformation process in the city and will focus into two neighborhoods in this framework. Whilst analyzing the urban transformation projects for neighborhoods, the paper discusses the gentrification process, and defines the process as "social and spatial restructuring".

Theoretical background: Urban Transformation and Gentrification as "Social and Spatial Re-structuring"

The process of transformation and the ways of implementation is long discussed among scholars. Some transformation projects are achieving great successes for including users into decision making and design process, citizen friendly approaches, taking participation process into their accounts or developing creative environments for public uses. And some projects are using a holistic strategy to transform an area from its current situation to an upgraded urban environment. High objectives of a transformation may cover a political and economical vision as well as a societal and cultural support. Therefore the tools of transformation and their suitability's to the social and physical environment are very important to discuss how the transformation can create a long lasting spatial environment with quality?

Figure 1. Evolution of urban transformation policy (based on Roberts, by McDonald et al., 2009).



In 1980s mostly the urban redevelopment policies were in charge with the focus of devastated, low quality areas of cities and trying to find the way for an economical improvement. In this period starting from England, Europe and North America, worldwide cities experienced leading urban transformation projects. Economy from 1980s on started being the push factor over urban policies that big scale rural and urban development projects started occurring. McDonald improved a scheme to define the evolution of urban transformation policies of Roberts and defined the general missions of each period as in the Figure 1 (McDonald et al., 2009). From 1990s on as an upgraded approach the urban regeneration by Roberts (2000) is defined as a “comprehensive and integrated vision and action that leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been, or is subject to change” (Roberts, 2000, p.17).

As gone through the development of urban transformation concept, it is also essential to underline the change of urban transformation policy according to urban, social and economical factors in Europe and Britain. Throughout this flow, it is evident that the public welfare and the voice of the society in decision-making and on process left its position to high policies and the business economy within last 40 years. This important shift while bringing the economical return and political hierarchy on to the urban development, it also creates a tension between the societies, where the high objectives are not matching. In this specificity, shift of objectives from healthier neighborhoods, suburbs and inner city areas towards business oriented, high rise estates developed a new way of dealing with the fragmenting societies. Bovaird while explaining different focuses of urban regeneration in 1995, adds that the achievement of high quality social interactions in the city may be dependent upon a set of cultural facilities which are «inclusive» in their appeal rather than «exclusive», i.e. welcoming to different ethnic groups, to different social classes, to people of different educational backgrounds (Bovaird, 1995). However this highlight also talks a lot about the fragmentation within an urban space, where the regeneration high missions are leading to a break of a holistic approach in return as practice. On the other hand this discussions led to the new discourse to be opened up through academic field where as a new terminology “gentrification” started taking place.

Gentrification as “social and spatial re-structuring”

Ruth Glass was the first to term “gentrification” and described it as a “taking hold of the laborer’s settlements in London by the middle and upper classes” (Glass, 1964). Gentrification commonly stands for the process, which challenges and, almost inevitably, destroys the authenticity of established and sought-after urban qualities and precincts (Radovic, 2009). Hoffmann defined the

process as of separating basically the poor from the rich by displacement from the city centre (Hoffmann, 2007). As a starting phase it is a result effect of a forced or leaded movement from a location to another one. It is mostly the evacuation of existing residents from an urban settlement and behaves jointly with the interests of decision makers, real estate market, corporate business, and institutions as part of their higher priorities or creative class due to their attractions towards a specific neighborhood. The term was not widely embraced in international literature because of its reductive associations, and this led to a new terminology research among scholars. It was termed in associated with social and economic restructuring of renewal processes. Thus, the term started to be broadly described and according to Ruth Glass (1964), is characterized by a replacement of population. However the terminology still leads to a negative purpose rather than defining a holistic view. Therefore with this paper the "social and spatial restructuring" definition of Uzun (2005) and Turgut & Sismanyazıcı(2010) is chosen to define this multidimensional process. By defining so, the terminology is accepted to reflect much clearly the city of Istanbul's transformation process (Uzun, 2005). In this way, the social and spatial restructuring process is covering socio cultural elements as the consumption patterns of middle-class residents, changes to demographic structure and lifestyle, and issues of gender, race and education; economic elements as changes to economic value, impacts on land and housing markets, economic restructuring, the fabrication of new housing, and transportation costs; and political elements as issues of state policy and funding (Turgut&Sismanyazici, 2011).

The social and spatial restructuring process particularly depends on basic indicators as changes in social class, displacement of community, increase in market values, physical textures and structures. Whilst creating an opportunity for livable environments, it also develops a drive for profit.

Urban transformation and the social and spatial restructuring process in Istanbul

Istanbul as many other big cities faced a rapid urban transformation process in 1980s. Along with continuing economic development and reforms, these former prestigious inner-city districts gained new popularity among higher-income families, attracted by their location close to the financial district (Ergun, 2004). Most of the physical transformation associated with globalization has taken place with the development of gated communities, five-star hotels, the city packaged as a consumption artifact for tourists, new office towers, expulsion of small business from the central districts, beginnings of gentrification of the old neighborhoods, and world images on billboards and shop windows (Oncu, 1997). With to the political visions to push Istanbul to be part of the global scene, grand projects in terms of physical and cultural fields started to build up (Yavuz, 2002). The historical neighborhoods and inner city areas of Istanbul started to host new middle class population and faced a dynamic population in and out flow. The expansion to the periphery inspired the policy makers to reclaim the inner city and to counter balance the present situation of urban sprawl. Physical and socio cultural characteristics of these inner city settlements became new attraction points due to their historical textures.

In the year 2005 the Article 5366 the law regarding the "*Renewal and Protection of Aging Historical and Cultural Immobile Entities and Their Use by Sustenance*" made a peak point for the transformation and regeneration fields of cities in Turkey. The city of Istanbul started to face number of regeneration projects focusing through regional and central municipalities, as well as many critical opinions for the process of designing, management and implementation through the community. So as the public policy has encouraged the renovation of historically important buildings within the attraction zones, the city of Istanbul started pushing on the tourism and gave a special attention to the historic peninsula with its museums, historical neighborhoods, physical texture, meanings, cultural background, connotations and monuments. This phase followed up by the restoration projects of the historical peninsula areas including Sulukule, Fener-Balat, Suleymaniye, and Tarlabasi area in Beyoglu district. With these cases large discussions between the civil society groups and the policy

makers concerning the protection of human values, rights, and cultural heritage and the physical texture in an urban transformation process took place.

With the article 5366, state gained a huge role in deciding a foresight for the currently devastated historical and cultural settlements. Through this capability, a municipality assigned private firm according to the projected development planning of the areas, prepares the projects. This on one hand brings more actors on site development and regeneration, however on the other hand little consideration to existing cultures, societies and local communities were given. The lack of communication and a participatory planning development through all phases creates a lame in total.

Figure 2. Locations of Fener-Balat and Suleymaniye neighborhoods within the historical peninsula.



Under these transformation dynamics, this paper is focusing into two historical districts of the city centre, Suleymaniye and Fener-Balat. These neighborhoods since 2006 are defined under major urban transformation zones, where the renewal and its management had been facilitated through the municipality, private stakeholders, the neighborhood community, universities and the civil initiatives. The reason behind choosing these neighborhoods for the paper is the aim to show multidimensional characteristics of the social and spatial restructuring process of urban transformation projects on sites where different implementation methodologies had been used in a short time period. On one hand an implementation and project development through a participatory structured had been performed, on the other hand with the decision of the urban renewal article, an economical profit based structure had been implemented in parallel. In this manner focusing into both neighborhoods as cases of different implementation strategies, this paper exposes the incompatible structure of the actors of social and spatial restructuring process as well as the visionary aspects of these implementations.

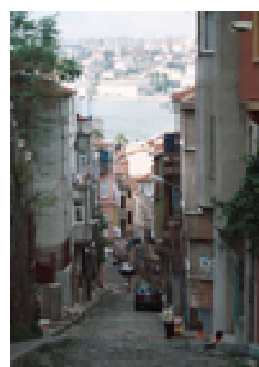
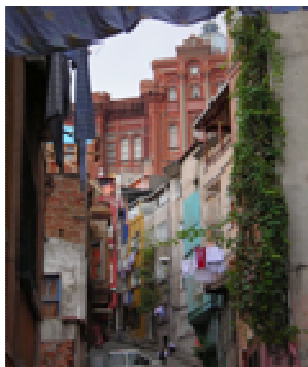
Suleymaniye neighborhood developed through mid 16th century as a residential district of higher-class society. Together with the Suleymaniye Religious School, the district was composed of big villas and small residential units of the Eminonu neighborhood's inhabitants and the school buildings by the golden horn. Together with the Turkish Republic and the modernization period, the neighborhood started facing drastic social, cultural and physical transformation. New system in all the governmental, educational and societal levels affected the attention and the function of the Suleymaniye area. Starting from the 1950s until 80s the migration period of East to the West Anatolia brought a new population into the area and this process followed up with the devastation of the historical neighborhood due to low incomes and lack of economical growth. The migration process and thus the new way of using the residential units, the neighborhood and the spatial environment reflected onto area's spatial quality. Former residential and educational zones started to serve for storages, workshops, low class residential units and dorms for the surrounding cheap labor workers (Dincer, 2010).

Figure 3. The Ayranci Street in Suleymaniye neighborhood (Photo: D. Mutman).



From 17th century on, Fener neighborhood developed around the Greek Orthodox Church by Greek population. The neighborhood host nearly until 19th century the high-class Greek society and the society started leaving the area towards the Bosphorus while leaving the area for the middle class officers, craftsmen and small business traders. However it is known that until 1960s' major out migration flow of Greek population to Greece, the place was known as a Greek neighborhood. In parallel to the out migration, through the in migration, mostly with low income, Black Sea origin new population started to settling down to the area (Dincer, 2010; Islam, 2006; Narli, 2006; Sismanyazıcı, 2009).

Figure 4. The Fener Balat neighborhood.
(<http://www.dunyabulteni.net/resim/250x190/2011/04/29/m1.jpg>).



Besides the migration flows into the neighborhood, the area also face a drastic urban renewal programme of the city in 1980s. With the cleaning up the shores of the Golden Horn and moving the Dockyard to Tuzla in mid to late 1980s, conditions in the district started to change. Small and medium sized industries, workshops as well as some historically important masonry buildings dating back to eighteenth century were destroyed, in order to create new green line by the waterfront. These changes implied a decline in commercial activities in the area, buildings closed down due to the lack of investment and people employed in commerce left the neighborhood. In parallel with a new migration flow from the Black Sea and South East Anatolia, Fener-Balat neighborhood started to become new home for the poor settlers (Turgut & Sismanyazıcı, 2010).

So to sum, both Fener-Balat and Suleymaniye neighborhoods faced sharp population changes and devastation of physical and socio-economical characteristics mostly since the 1950s and 60s. Starting with the UNESCO world heritage listing in 1985 of the historical peninsula together with Suleymaniye, the historical peninsula in general became an attraction point for the local authorities. However after this label, local communities of neighborhoods increased the destruction attitude towards historical patterns and in this manner aimed to get permission for new constructions. Especially in 2000s Suleymaniye facing fires on civil structures, illegally destruction of architectural values and transforming those plots into car parking areas or storages increased a lot. Both neighborhoods started facing a high expectation in real estate due to UNESCO and tourism, on the other hand the current economic situation was failing (Dincer, 2010). Ownership in both areas started to shift in terms of high expectations, and cheap real estate market, and this create new economically lead development horizons of both sites.

Social and spatial restructuring process in Suleymaniye

Suleymaniye neighborhood was announced as a renewal site on 2006 and short after to this, the Fener-Balat neighborhood joined to the same definition at the same year. The mission was to regenerate the historical residential units and to promote the area as a historical reincarnation. After the regeneration announcements, UNESCO also announced that a city is not only composed of buildings but also its own communities. Therefore preserving socio cultural identities and the structure is also essential in preservation policy of UNESCO. At this point it is important to underline that after the announcements were done, processes occurred in both neighborhoods differed from each other in implementation, project preparations and organizational models.

In the year 2008 the Suleymaniye rehabilitation project started as part of metropolitan municipality project and claimed that the neighborhood would get 24 hours lively new setup with the residential and cultural facilities within. The project covered 938 thousand 738 square meters area including 728 preservation buildings. It was a joint project of metropolitan municipality, directorate of preservation of historic environments, KUDEB (*Directorate of Protection Application and Supervision*), planning directorate, construction directorate, and the KIPTAS (*Istanbul Public Housing Corporation*). Dincer (2010) explained the system as 60% of the project cost would be covered by the Contributions for the Conservation of Cultural Assets, and the remaining 40% would come out of the budget of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Again 60% of the construction costs would be covered by the Contributions and the outstanding 40% would be collected through the long-term, low interest credits that the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ) would grant to the property owners. This public weighted and credit granting scheme employed in Suleymaniye was considered to be a positive model in terms of protecting the historical structure and the property rights (Dincer, 2010). The main critical debate related to this project was the role of KIPTAS, where the corporation was acting as a real estate developer by buying the plots and the houses in the area before the announcement of 5366 decisions for very low costs. This ethically wrong marketing behavior of KIPTAS definitely created an imbalanced situation within the whole system in the long run.

The project of Suleymaniye on the other hand was aiming to revitalize the degraded civil housing structures in the neighborhood. However due to the devastation of historical values through fires until recent history, to gather a focal area, for revitalization implementations were creating a problem. Also revitalizing the physical characteristics of the urban settlement brought out another issue of profession in implementations and use of materials. Therefore three different methods were used in the area. The first one was composed of basic revitalization projects for the existing and preserved historical structures. The second focus was covering the structures that were destructed but documents related to the structure could still be gathered. And the third focal area is aimed covering the new structures, which has no information available about the former situation and would be constructed onto the empty plots in order to replace the low urban quality (Dincer, 2010). Due to this third step of the project, many scholars as well as urban critics created long lasting debates concerning the design principles and planning approaches for historical neighborhoods. These debates are surely leading to

new design practices within old urban structures; however the top to down general planning decision was made by the city authorities and the state for regenerating a historical layout as a bigger vision. Concerning the participation process the project created a relatively down to the local community structure. However it is important to highlight that the change of ownerships during and just before the announcement of the revitalization project of Suleymaniye, highly affected the social structure of the site and pushed the area for a transformation towards a tourism attraction, and hostel area. On the other hand this project's implementation methodology together with the UNESCO's world heritage listing created an alternative tourism attraction on site where economically and culturally a small increase is visible. This clearly shows both sided effects of restructuring on site.

Social and spatial restructuring process in Fener-Balat

The Fener-Balat districts are located on the historical peninsula of Istanbul. As a result of population shifts in the neighborhood and major political changes in Turkey, the neighborhood faced a rapid change in the social makeup of their resident communities and a decline in their social, cultural and physical conditions. Under these circumstances a renewal process began with the Fener-Balat Rehabilitation Project that is planned after Habitat II. This effort, emphasizing social as well as physical rehabilitation, was completed in 2008. From 2000s, a new period arrived in which the role of the state decreased and that of the private sector increased. Within this flow the Fener-Balat renewal project in 2009 replaced the earlier rehabilitation project. It aims to create comprehensive new physical, social and economic patterns using the Article 5366. Thus a site-by-site rehabilitation of the first project implementation started to give a way to a broad-brush effort (Turgut&Sismanyazici, 2011).

Fener-Balat rehabilitation project:

Different to the Suleymaniye neighborhood, the Fener-Balat area was already a focus to a UNESCO project started at 1996 after the Habitat II meeting in Istanbul until 2008. The aim was a social and physical rehabilitation within the area. It was a joint project with the municipality of Fatih where, the municipality played a supportive role. The project took an inclusive effort in putting the local communities into the decision and implementation processes. It was 58% invested through private sector and 42% by the property owner shares (Dincer, 2010). As a multidimensional implementation that targeted economic and social restructuring as well as physical, this project can be classified under implementations of community-oriented revitalization interventions.

The project focused on four main strands as restoration of houses, social rehabilitation, enlivening the historic Balat Bazaar and the management of solid waste disposal. Above all these four strands the most significant point in this project was the participatory process of the neighborhood residents into the decision making and implementation phases (Turgut & Sismanyazici, 2011).

Fener-Balat renewal project

The transformation process in the Fener-Balat area has shifted to a new level especially after the Article 5366, and the role of the private sector increased more. With the new projection on the neighborhood from the municipality of Fatih, the Fener-Balat Renewal project started in the year 2009. The aim of the renewal according to the 5366 decision was to create a comprehensive new physical, social and economic pattern at the neighborhood, and to bring the urban degradation areas into re-habitable and relievable conditions by regaining these areas into the city (Turgut&Sismanyazici, 2011).

The project of Fener-Balat area involved a consideration due to the risk in an earthquake occasion; also a long-term neglected historical site needs an upgrading for the natural disaster risk. Therefore the second Fener-Balat project covers up the demolition of all low quality renovations and constructions and irrespective examples to the historical settings (Dincer, 2010). At this point the destruction has a potential of covering the UNESCO project's implementations as well. On the other hand the new construction implementation also composes of a similar method of the Suleymaniye's third way, which builds out replica facades at the neighborhood with new inner constructions. Evidable, the

attitude also keeps the debates within scholars related to the design and planning practice, as well as the potential in demolition of the UNESCO supported community-oriented interventions. In this manner as a multidimensional social and spatial restructuring process this project can be listed under implementations of a market and profit based renewal projects.

Evaluation on both urban transformation processes and the actors

The urban transformation process in general aims an improvement in socio-cultural, economical and physical manners on a site. Similar attempts in the historical peninsula's example cases of Istanbul also expose that the urban transformation becomes a multi layered and highly debated restructuring process. However the differentiation in the cases defined above, is clearly showing that the lack of a holistic strategy for the whole urban transformation decisions and planning works done for the city, creates huge gaps between the actors and their missions for an intervention or a project. Thus the unrelated visions for a neighborhood upgrading, regeneration or a renewal project develops different outcomes as an outcome. In this manner the evolution of social and spatial restructuring process is also taking place in the urban transformation processes with a multi-layered character.

According to the high objectives and a general mission, an urban transformation project can aim economical, socio-cultural, political, environmental and/or physical improvements on a site. In this context creation of networks between varieties of actors including local communities, bringing out strategies for site's long term planning development and producing a design project is very important. At this level the process's leading or mediating actors can promote a participatory approach with the local community of the neighborhoods for achieving a socially, economically and spatially responsive development. As a counter approach, the decisions and project development can cover series of debated among scholars, decision makers and in following these information's could only be shared with the local community at the time needed. These two-way approaches can be defined according to their high expectations and orientations. In this manner the participatory system can be the community-oriented approach, whilst the interventions of the top-level decision makers could be defined according to their high level orientations such as private sector orientation.

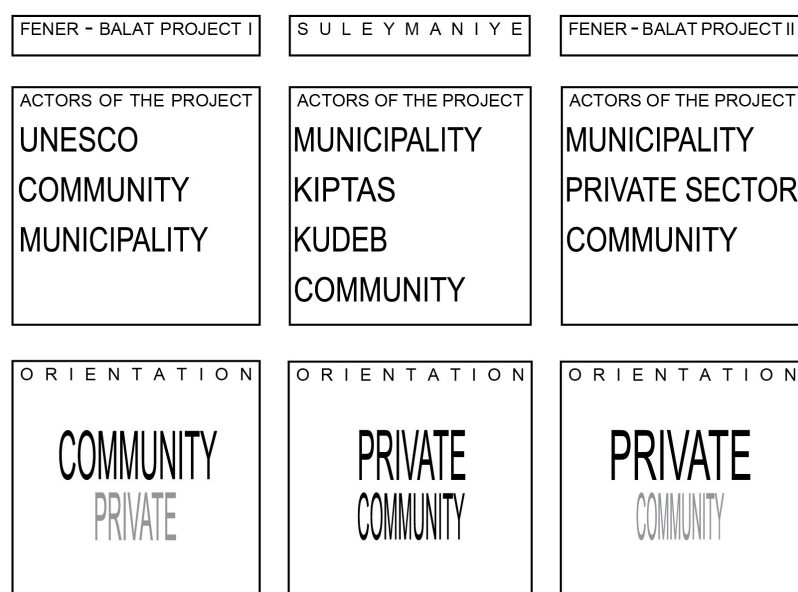
Urban transformation projects of the historical peninsula of Istanbul expose different implementation methodologies and processes by same organs. The municipality of Fatih as the local authority as well as representative of the state led decisions is carrying the scents of the global economy and current dynamics for a city development and marketing strategy. Therefore with an aim to promote the historical neighborhoods, inner city areas are being promoted for business-oriented tourism zones as a marketing tool driven by the current economical and political dynamics. However this new type of a push force brings out the implementation of remaking facades as well as a social and spatial restructuring by neglecting the existing population within. At one side whilst bringing a conflict on site by clashing the actors of the project, the methodology in promoting inner city areas as in case studies in this paper, develops a theory and process of design related debates on ways of intervention in a historical urban environment.

The existing communities of the neighborhoods as another actor of the process of transformation are usually being neglected in Istanbul's urban transformation process. Therefore the Project I of Fener-Balat plays an important role in exposing a role model for a participatory urban revitalization project of a historical neighborhood. Behind the mediation of the UNESCO, the supportive role of the local administration for rehabilitation of social and cultural texture of the neighborhood, aimed a sustainable neighborhood upgrading in the long run. In this manner supporting of the local culture and the existing communities of transformation areas, besides their "settler" status due to population shifts in recent years, brings an opportunity for the physical environment's preservation. On the other hand concerning the participatory planning approach two different implementation methodologies within same site exposed a sharp difference. Whilst a participatory, and inclusive bottom-up approach was accepted during the UNESCO's rehabilitation project, with the Article 5366's announcement, higher

expectations of the private sector together with the state brought out a top to down development and intervention. This process also brought out a shift in ownership status in the area and this led to a rapid social restructuring process in a small time period.

At this point the situation in Suleymaniye neighborhood can be seen as a transition phase or high missions for the transformations of sites from UNESCO led Fener Balat Project I to the Project II. The importance of actors in this area brought an option for both the private sector and to the local communities in the area similar opportunities at the management structure. Due to the structure either a private investor or an inhabitant were having a option of collaborating with KUDEB for rehabilitation of their housing units. However in practice the houses to get a license in rehabilitation were needed to show an historical value, and a data to be restored about the building's former situation. Besides due to the wrong renovation methods of the past as well as the neglected historical values for getting today's living conditions within brought the area to loose its specific historical texture and values. Therefore whilst proposing a comparably balanced opportunities for both the community and the private sector, realities in the physical texture and the insufficient economic conditions of current residents of the area, brings a shift of ownership in the neighborhood. Through this type of ownership shift, an inferential social and spatial restructuring process in being created in the neighborhood.

Figure 5. Actors and the orientation of the social and spatial restructuring process of Fener-Balat and Suleymaniye Neighborhoods.



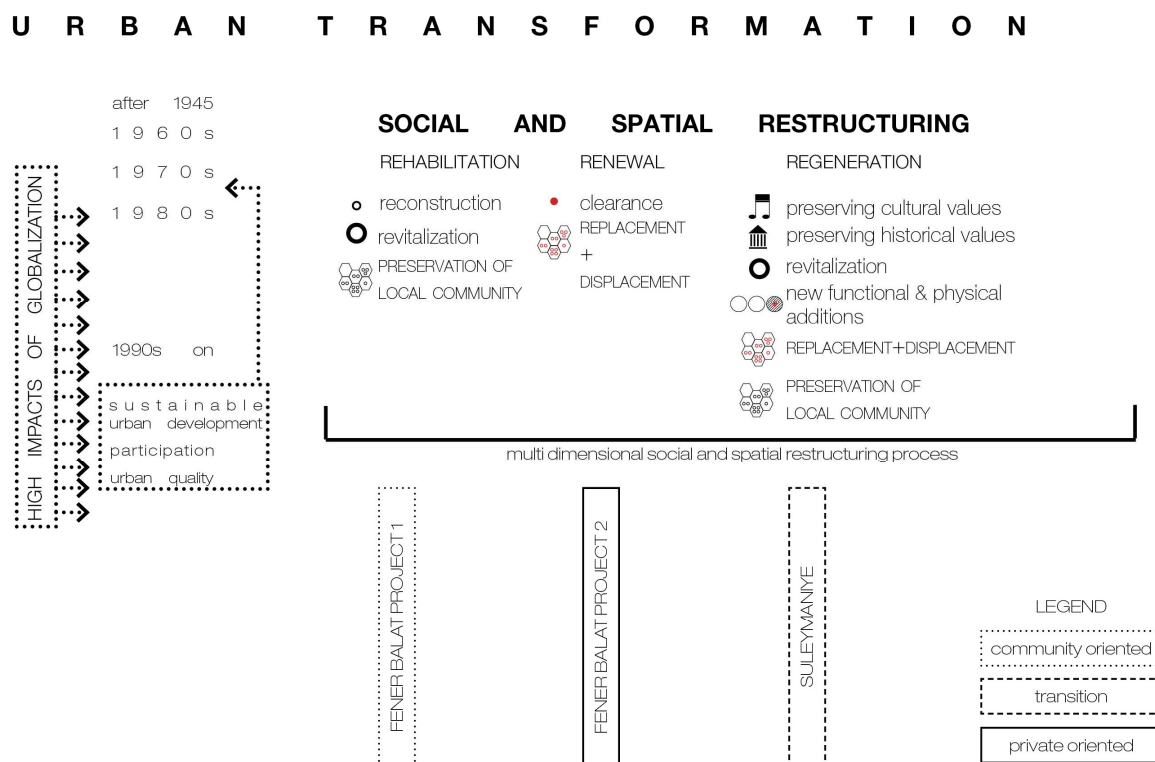
In this context the state led transformation strategies chosen for the areas create a conflict in between the roles and capacities of the actors of the process. Neglected participatory approach of the existing inhabitants of the area were chosen either to struggle against the case; to accept the process and leave the area for an affordable another are to live; or choose to stay at the neighborhood with a long term economical dues. In any case neighborhood transformations are becoming profit oriented. When the leading factor is the economy and business, in the long term the process has a capacity in creating an indirect shift of population. In this context the opposing characteristics of the urban transformation approaches when met at same areas, imbalanced social, physical and economical textures at the urban environment starts to develop.

In this manner, examining both projects and processes clearly showed the lack of a holistic development strategy. This strategic lack creates any intervention on sites, -such as in Fener-Balat's

UNESCO supported rehabilitation project- to face a renewal decision after 8 years of work or another way of created barriers.

Through this paper, it's aimed to clarify the urban transformation attempts taking place in the historical peninsula where foresighted visions for the site and for the city were not matching due to the lack of visionary interconnectivity of the leading and supporting actors of projects. Therefore as the methodologies of achieving a physical transformation differs from upgrading an existing situation, to a renewal and new construction, the outcomes of this transformation leads to a spatial restructuring. Similarly the socio cultural transformation that is aimed at these sites comes up with supporting of the local community at their settlements or restructuring of the inhabitants can be referred to gentrification.

Figure 6. The transformation processes of Fener-Balat and Suleymaniye neighborhoods.



At this level the multidimensional process of social and spatial restructuring processes of the Fener-Balat and Suleymaniye neighborhoods are today exemplifying a clash of preferences on sites, besides the loss and redesigned meanings, patterns and development structures. This imbalanced system of urban and social environment is with no question leading to a gentrification in long-term process at the top to down and bottom up approached projects. Therefore although the intention for both sites were differing at the start of project management and implementations as well as the participatory levels, reflections of the visions for sites supported by global dynamics, the long term expectations for both sites are leading towards a socio-cultural and physical restructuring process.

Conclusion

Cities have always been under a transformation process regarding an upgraded urban image and for spatial quality. Today's changes in needs, technology, spatial texture, life quality, expectations and economy are creating a push force for higher expectations and capitalist approaches on remaking of cities. These push forces therefore are bringing new transformation projects of waterfronts, riverbanks, harbors, public spaces, inner city developments and public squares as new symbols of the city. For a more vigorous life, devastated urban settlements are being redesigned under a motto and new visages are popping up as new old town centers, remade urban cores and traditional textures. In this rapid transformation process, projects are targeted to boost the economy and to help cities compete internationally. These changes are becoming the leading push forces for a restructured social and physical texture.

Similarly in the city of Istanbul, unprecedented economic growth provided a catalyst for large-scale urban development projects, which are undertaken by the state and local authorities. Historical neighborhoods started to face a sharp transformation waves and gentrification. The spatial characteristics of areas as well as the residents of these neighborhoods are being cleared down in a sharp renewal process or in an indirect revitalization implementation. Urban transformation methodologies in this manner started to develop new definitions within the Istanbul practice as well as new outcomes. Process of revitalization whilst developing a positive impact for a neighborhood upgrading approach, with the lack of interaction of actors and an overall vision for urban transformation brings the social and spatial restructuring process indirectly.

In sum to these arguments within the city of Istanbul's historical peninsula, where historical neighborhoods are facing rapid transformations according to higher expectations of for the settlements, and for the current local communities; it is essential to underline that the municipal and state level objections are not matching to a sustainable development ideals. Neglecting the current local, socio-cultural texture within the area would only create further problems for another location within the city. Redesigning an environment should be covering responsive characteristics for the needs, practices, the culture, and the communities as well as the historical layout. Therefore the multi layered restructuring within both Fener-Balat and Suleymaniye neighborhoods, with the vision of the current state is -although supports an economical improvement in the neighborhood through profit based orientation- due to neglecting the current residents and their socio-cultural and economical rehabilitations the process is heading a problematic transformation process both in social, cultural and physical levels. In this manner the urban transformation process with the historical neighborhoods of the city of Istanbul exposes a remaking of urban settlements, visage projects and minimum socio-cultural and spatial interaction.

Finally it is important to underline that although the social and spatial restructuring process is very important for preservation of historical neighborhoods and textures within cities, it is also obvious that through differentiated visions, it has a potential in creating conflicts between the actors, dues, strategies and long-term missions. Therefore the urban transformation process within this context should carefully be analyzed and managed according to the current urban transformation dynamics. For the city of Istanbul, the rapid transformation and shift in social structure certainly creates a multidimensional situation on cases. In this manner due to differentiating residents, fragmented spatial formations, new trends and historical textures within the same contour, the social and spatial restructuring process needs a mediating approach to maintain the existing socio-cultural texture whilst upgrading the physical environment.

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